

## NOTES

ON

"SOUTHERN WEALTH AND NORTHERN  
PROFITS."

Powell Sherman

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PHILADELPHIA:  
C. SHERMAN & SON, PRINTERS.  
1861.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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"THAT mine enemy would write a book," is an ancient and time-honored aspiration; and the maxim is not less true, that "more danger may come through our friends than should be dreaded from our enemies." These proverbs are fairly suggested by a perusal of the thick pamphlet or book intended as the elaboration of the idea comprehended in the title, "Southern Wealth and Northern Profits."\* It is well-meant towards the South, and is far less kindly-tempered towards the North. Unfortunately it is the very text-book and creed of the mad movement of the hour, and therefore it deserves the closest scrutiny.

Although no hostile, nor even unfriendly feeling has led to the examination, some pages in the work cannot fail to provoke the most stern indignation. As a whole, it begets an irresistible impulse to attempt a reply, however unworthy of the task the reader may feel.

In selecting the topics discussed, some points must be taken not selected by choice. This is especially true as to Protection; for, notwithstanding all that may appear in rejoinder, no argument is attempted to advocate the artificial *Theory of Protection* as commendable in the abstract.

Protection seems at best a doubtful right, and may but find an excuse in a choice of evils. Under the necessity felt by every government to raise a revenue, no better system than one of imposts upon foreign mer-

\* "Southern Wealth and Northern Profits." Geo. W. & John A. Wood. New York: 1860.

chandise has been devised for the United States. Until ability and intelligence can develop some better way to meet the inexorable necessity, let every citizen abide the decision of the highest wisdom which can lawfully control the subject.

It is worse than puerile to wail and mourn, or to rebel at difficulties which the course of nature or the laws of nations may impose, for our obedience as full-grown men.

March 28, 1861.

## NOTES.

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OUR author claims that slavery, slave labor, and the slave trade were the original basis of British advancement, and that they continue to be the corner stone of the existing wealth, the prosperity, and the power of all England and of America to-day. He believes that British supremacy now absolutely depends upon the manufacture of American cotton, and he peremptorily denies that cotton grown elsewhere can possibly supply its place. He asserts: "The future increase of supply in human clothing must come altogether from cotton, and every effort to increase the supply of that article ends only in a despairing appeal to the United States." (P. 39.)

But if the busy slave has clothed the world till now, can we believe no altered commercial relations, no fixed prejudice, no force of interest or of fear, swaying the policy and power of mighty nations struggling in every clime, may dispel this fair prospect like a dream?

Southern wealth sits enthroned upon slave labor. "We shall find that the latter (slave labor) has largely the advantage over the former (free labor); that the production of the individual freeman is not greater than that of the slave; but his wants and necessities are greater." (P. 42.) A more fatal error than this assertion could scarce be made, especially at the present prices of slaves. And so is the attempt upon the next page to prove that slave labor in the South produces more corn and cattle than free labor. The fact is notorious that those districts of the South which produce the larger proportion of the food are precisely those regions which do not produce cotton, rice, and sugar, for the food is grown upon the lands where the proportion of white population is greatest. Thus Kentucky, Tennessee,

Missouri, North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, and even the high country of Georgia itself, produce the corn and cattle. In these States not merely the numbers, but the size, value, and usefulness of the individual animals, bear an acknowledged superiority over those in regions where slave labor is most exclusive, and where cotton, rice, and sugar are the chief staples.

The white labor of the North, from its superior skill and intelligence, can be more profitably employed in manufactures which may be exchanged with advantage, for the agricultural productions of the joint slave and free labor of the South, the exchange being not only a mutual benefit, but satisfactory alike to both parties. This is absolute free trade over wide geographical limits in its simplest and safest practicable form.

Food, and the productions of the field, are the chief results of Southern labor. Pages 45, 46, treat the production of hay as waste labor in the comparison with the Southern system which dispenses with hay. Still it is notorious that South Carolina suffers from a great want of hay. It is largely imported at Charleston, as well as at all Southern ports, and great quantities of it descend the Mississippi. During the arid of the summer in the cotton region, a serious want of grass itself is constantly endured, and the cattle are compelled to browse upon twigs in the woods, or to seek the shoots of the wild canes, at the great risk of perishing in the swamps. It is needless to debate whether hay be a valuable production. That the value of the hay at the North bears a large proportion to the value of the cotton crop is indisputable. Any farmer of England would consider him mad, who undertook to prove that his hay crop was valueless.

“The labor which at the North will give 100 millions of hay, will at the South, not being needed for that purpose, give 100 millions of cotton, while the cattle are feeding themselves.” (P. 46.) With this assertion, which is quite true, a picture might well be added of the more than half starved, *self-fed* carcasses, which, yielding no milk, no butter, and making no cheese, lead an existence of use to no one, and when at the last they reach the shambles, their flesh would be refused by the paupers of a Northern almshouse. This, however, does not apply to all the States, for in many regions of the South, where white men prevail, and where the slaves do not all make cotton, there are many

very fine cattle. The average value of each head of stock at the South is \$6 $\frac{22}{100}$ ; at the North it is \$10 $\frac{57}{100}$ . (See p. 43.) Perhaps the best argument to be drawn from the quotation is that much of the South is blessed with a genial climate and a productive soil, and from these advantages it easily reaps great wealth. But in some regions the country is death to the unacclimated white man during the "growing season." Many planters have never passed a single night upon their estates at these times. If indeed the local agriculture could produce all the results of the most salubrious regions, the limited skill and intelligence, and the other restraining necessities of the slave system, would prevent the milk, the butter, and the cheese from being either secured or consumed except by the slaves themselves. But it is not the policy nor the system for the slaves to be fed with such luxuries. A great secret of the productiveness of slave labor is that the tiller of the soil is nourished with the simplest, the coarsest, and the grossest fare. He is generally sufficiently fed and sufficiently clothed, else he would have neither strength nor health to labor; but his condition is through policy, constrained to be without luxury or comforts of any sort; his wants and necessities must be restricted to the minimum; all his enjoyment must be of that negative kind where no single ray of hope for improvement may enter. His intelligence must be repressed to prevent danger of insurrection. This consequence may be inferred from the last message of Governor Brown of Georgia. This is the reason why it is unsafe for the intelligence of the white man to labor beside him in the same pursuits; he may direct and compel, but he should never share his burdens. Thus these fertile regions may never be shared with a class of happy agriculturists with white faces, consuming the lavish profusion of the fruits of the earth; and this Mr. Spratt's letter in the Charleston Mercury proves very conclusively.

"It follows from these facts that the South has a far larger surplus to export than any other section, and that the value of that surplus per hand annually increases." (P. 47, 48.) Here is a most important point, for it covers the very marrow of the subject of wealth. The author of *The Five Cotton States and New York* has ably shown what really is the surplus, and how widely it differs from the assumption of its nature and amount

claimed in these pages. The blindness of the South confounds a large part of the gross production, indeed all that is sent away, with *surplus*, but surplus is the remainder after all cost of production of every sort is deducted—it is the net profit. The able pen alluded to, with a few brief sentences, has exposed the fallacy of comparing the *entire agricultural results* of a purely agricultural people, with the *mere agricultural* results of a people who are agricultural, manufacturing, and very largely commercial. In a very invidious comparison with the Northern agriculture, the entire population, manufacturing and all, of the North seem to be counted in the average estimate, per capita, of agricultural production; while the value of the entire industry, which covers much besides mere crops, is neglected, and kept out of sight. Any conclusion reached in this way cannot fail to result unfortunately for the South.

Southern agriculture in the main is notoriously destructive upon all average soils; the slave and his master passing perpetually onward to new lands, and leaving behind them a scene of devastation. Land in South Carolina not yet exhausted is valueless without the slave *adscriptus glebæ*. If he is removed, the acres and buildings can scarce be disposed of at all. This is not the case in the North, where land once reduced to tillage, and houses and barns once built, are ever valuable. They continue to constitute tangible capital, unless some rare calamity should cause the fields to be exhausted, and the buildings to fall into irreparable decay. The slave system builds no cities, few mills, few ships; it does little for common roads and bridges, canals, manufactures, trade, or commerce of its own—its gifts and its mission do not seem to lie in that way. This great agricultural production is then the whole and entire result of the district, and when the products are exported or removed, it leaves behind absolutely nothing besides the human machines, the animals, and their yearly increment of numbers upon the soil. The land is not improved. The intellect, the skill, the social relations, and the happiness of the slaves do not advance perceptibly, and the system contemplates no improvement in these respects, lest it develop greater wants, or render the laborers discontented with their mere animal and penurious existence.

If this view of slave agriculture in the Cotton States be disputed, compare any county there with a county in an average condition in any free State; and a glance will show there exists in one a large accumulated capital of intrinsic worth, and of permanent usefulness, both to existing and to coming generations. In the slave county almost everything depends, not upon the inhabitant, but upon his condition of slavery, and the slave depends for his chief value upon the demand for one single production.

The capital of the Cotton States is engaged, almost exclusively, in the staple production, and there is great reason to believe that it calls to its aid a very large capital besides, which is lent or advanced from other regions. Every man at the North, who makes a plough, a hoe, a shovel, or a cotton-gin, to aid the production of cotton, should be counted as a hand engaged in that crop, and he ought to be counted off, pro rata, from the average agricultural production of the North, when making the estimate, and in the comparison with average slave production.

Without wishing to enter upon the merits of a continued system of protective tariffs, it yet cannot be denied that in the opening career of a new country, the revenue system may wisely be directed to foster the more important staple manufactures, which ought to exist in every nation; nor can the extremest Southron assert that such protection has ever been laid in a shape that he might not, as an individual, equally claim its benefits. Such protection grows out of a national necessity, and some local advantages are inseparable, yet they need not involve the questions of right, or of inclination to share them. Admitting the tariff has been at times, or that it still continues too high, it nevertheless does protect a large manufacturing interest in the South and West, which amounts very closely to three-sevenths of the manufactures of the North. (P. 58.) It is claimed the South and West take \$200,000,000 from the East of articles "mostly protected," upon which the cost is enhanced to the consumers in proportion to the duties. "This gives an annual drain of \$50,000,000 from the consumers of these sections as a bonus to the manufacturing capital of the North." (P. 61.) Without waiting to debate that the full amount of protection can ever be added in the price of manufactures, and leave them still in control of the market, or



whether the average protection upon such Northern goods be twenty-five per cent, let us press forward towards the conclusion of the argument which is here only opened. The South claims to supply much of the raw material and food of the North; it insists there is large capital at the North, then, of course, there must be competition: this being so, it is evident that food and raw material purchased from the South must constitute the chief cost of manufactures; profits make up the rest. It has not been yet asserted that the labor or the capital at the North are unduly compensated, and this is especially apparent in the comparison made in this book with the results obtained at the South. Indeed if the capital were unduly rewarded, it is a notorious fact that it would flow from all sides where it existed, even from the South, to earn a higher reward; but capital at the South bears a higher interest than at the East. It results therefore that the producer of much of the raw material and the food has, after all, his fair share of the advantages of protection, and that these come from the South, see the book (p. 72); bear in mind besides that the South and West have three-sevenths very nearly of the manufactures of the North, and a better idea can be formed of the practical result of protection. Where is the protected Southern grown sugar consumed? From its being the result of ill-ripened canes, it contains much uncrystallizable matter, which constantly sinks through the casks, and it cannot well go to foreign countries. When American protection forsakes it, and a foreign impost bars it, where will it compete with Havana sugars?

We must not overlook the mistake that any object of protection, even the bounty upon fishing, should be regarded as exclusively Northern. All citizens have the offer of equal inducement to engage in fishing, and it is only from sufficient motives or from choice that any abstain. The purpose of this bounty is pre-eminently national, and might lead to any concession from every one bearing the least spark of patriotism in his breast. Its intention is solely the proper one of training seamen for a navy to guard the coast, and protect commerce. As the book claims that our entire commerce is the creation of the cotton supply, can it not admit the preservation of commerce and the maintenance of a navy may well demand some interest on the part of the cotton-grower? A great deal is said upon the

subject of ship-building, but it seems forgotten that the hemp, the timber, and the naval stores are all Southern productions, and are involved in the interest of shipping. It is overlooked too that the competition of American shipping helps to restrain every expense of commerce claimed to be one of the grand creations of the cotton interest. As for the fleet of small vessels, lighters from the North, employed to bring the cotton to the seaports, they are always, when hired from the North, subject to the strict rules of mutual interest and economy. The South could afford to do this work neither so well nor so cheaply with its own men and vessels. The whole energy, the capital, we may almost believe the whole brains of the cotton States, are devoted to making cotton. We should stigmatize them if we should suppose all is not wisely ordered as it is. We are unwilling to believe it is so because they cannot help it.

“The nature of international trade is for countries to exchange such products as each, by peculiarity of climate or national facilities, can produce to the best advantage.” (P. 68.) This is well said, and no international trade has ever been more full and practically free in modern times, or has included a much wider range of commodities, than are exchanged among our several States; and the really great wealth and power of the South, so well shown in this book, may be triumphantly claimed as the benefit of the system. May it not be made an argument too, for raising an honest doubt, that all the wrongs and restraints alleged, have not been so ruinous as some persons have imagined?

The large increase in its population, in its productions, and in its facilities for production, are the material elements of the strength, wealth, and power of the South, and they all may continue to grow and prosper until the demand for its staple be shaken. The South has made a rapid advance, especially if the average intelligence and education, skill, and general capacity of the masses be taken as the measure or the means by which a people may increase. It is probable that no other country in the world, with the same pretensions in these respects, has advanced so rapidly as the Southern portion of the United States. In taking this view of a nation's growth, it is but applying the standard which is now recognized by all the rest

of the world, and it denies to the Southern system nothing more than fairly attaches to its peculiarity, and which time will doubtless prove to be inseparable from it.

"The present rate of freight is \* \* \* \* ten per cent. of the value" (of the cotton crop). P. 84. Here is another element, paid by the foreign consumers only, in the prosperous circle of trade, so maliciously to be destroyed, which enables the North to purchase one-tenth of the whole cotton crop—even more; for a few lines beyond, we find that the return freights largely augment the profit. The freight can hardly be overpaid, for there is very great competition, though it is still profitable.

"That section (the South) consents to the profits thus earned by the North, while she has it in her power to withdraw them by a resort to her own forests and shipyards." (P. 84.) We must here begin to believe there is a voluntary concession; something is "given away." Kind, generous, forbearing spirit! How much less cotton and rice would be grown if the capital and the labor were withdrawn to establish, with Southern enterprise, aided by negro skill, this magnificent mercantile marine, and to float a navy adequate to protect it. Some of the "Massachusetts harvest of ice" might after all be wanted to cure the fish, while seeking the bounty wherewith to rear the sailors. But in the name of all that is solemn and sacred, let us ask the author to hide beneath the black tide of human selfishness and passion, the miserable scheme to overthrow a great and glorious nation, and to plunge its millions on both sides, if not into civil war, at least into misery and ruin. Only because he talked about such a purpose has sarcasm tinged our thoughts. There is no hostility among the masses in the North. For the sake of the South let all such thoughts be smothered; for only let the mind of the still powerful North become impressed with the dark picture of hopeless ruin now so deliberately undertaken for it by the relentless South, and surely there must follow, as an expiatory sacrifice, if not with one last hope of conquest, the bloody tide of war, with all its horrors and uncertainties, to sweep the waving harvests, and to blast the fertile fields of the sunny land of cotton.

"The theory has been advanced against the extension of

slavery into the Territories, that slavery degrades labor and drives out free industry." (P. 62.) Aye, we have heard the appellation, "the mudsills of society," applied to white laborers.

Senator Hammond, and Mr. Herschell V. Johnson in his Philadelphia speech, among other highest authorities, are responsible for the doctrine that capital ought to own labor. Mr. Spratt of the "*Charleston Mercury*," the head and front of the Southern cause, the associate of Rhett himself, their greatest leader, has elaborately proved that white labor is necessarily dangerous in the presence of the slave. He employs the most powerful arguments to prove they are incompatible. Such is the voice of the very prophets of the land.\*

\* Extract from Letter of Hon. L. W. Spratt, in *Charleston Mercury*, 13th February, 1861: "And even in this State (South Carolina) the ultimate result is not determined. The slave condition here would seem to be established. There is here an excess of one hundred and twenty thousand slaves, and here is fairly exhibited the normal nature of the institution. The officers of the State are slave-owners, and the representatives of slave-owners. In their public acts they exhibit the consciousness of a superior position. Without unusual individual ability, they exhibit the elevation of tone and composure of public sentiment proper to a master class. There is no appeal to the mass, for there is no mass to appeal to; there are no demagogues, for there is no populace to breed them; judges are not forced upon the stump; governors are not dragged before the people; and when there is cause to act upon the fortunes of our social institution, there is, perhaps, an unusual readiness to meet it. The large majority of our people are in legitimate connection with the institution in legitimate dependence upon the slave; and it were to be supposed that here, at least, the system of slave society would be permanent and pure. But even here the process of disintegration has commenced. In our larger towns it just begins to be apparent. Within ten years past, as many as ten thousand slaves have been drawn away from Charleston by the attractive prices of the West, and laborers from abroad have come to take their places. These laborers have every disposition to work above the slave, and if there were opportunity would be glad to do so; but, without such opportunity, they come to competition with him; they are necessarily resistive to the contact. Already, there is the disposition to exclude him; from the trades, from public works, from drays, and the tables of hotels, he is even now excluded to a great extent. And when enterprises at the North are broken up; when more laborers are thrown from employment; when they shall come in greater numbers to the South, they will still more increase the tendency to exclusion; they will question the right of masters to employ their slaves in any works that they may wish for; they will invoke the aid of legislation; they will use the elective franchise to that end; they may acquire the power to determine

The question of the advancement of slavery into new ground does not hinge upon its benefits to the slave: the practical, not the abstract result, depends upon the exclusion by the presence of the slave, of all others than his owners or their inferiors (Pp. 169, 171.) It has been shown what Southern tongues of highest authority have said, bearing full upon the subject. It is, moreover, indisputable, that whatever may be the benign influence of the institution upon the negro race (a principle it is far from the present purpose to dispute), not the slightest pretence can be set up, that its influence improves the general condition of the mass of the white population, whose lot by chance may be cast beside the polished, refined, but imperious and arrogant slave-owner. Look at the condition of the "crackers" and of the "poor white trash." Where in Christendom is any white man held so degraded as he who labors with slaves or may be in immediate contact with them in any capacity, whether as overseer or negro dealer. At the South it is treated as a degradation even to trade with a negro for the produce he is permitted to rear, as the inference is held that besides what he raises he steals half of all he sells.

"All territory is now claimed as exempt from slavery, and the abolition of slavery by force in the States, where it has always existed, is so far favored by a class, as to require the most earnest denials from the leaders of the Republican party that it is part of their platform. In face of this denial, however, the writers of the party favor the measure and applaud the overt acts of the John Browns among zealous adherents." (P. 163.)

The candor as well as the fitness of the application of this statement, if such be intended to attach to the Republican party (of which the writer is not and never has been one), needs no comment; even to discuss the assertion would be as far beneath the dignity of the present purpose, as the lines must

municipal elections; they will inexorably use it; and thus, this town of Charleston, at the very heart of slavery, may become a fortress of democratic power against it. As it is in Charleston, so also is it to a less extent in the interior towns."

"\* \* \* \* \* The people of the Cotton States want labor; they know that whites and slaves cannot work together."

remain a lasting shame, to all who knowing better, presume to circulate them in such a spirit as they seem to breathe ; their only reward must be the doom of those who bear false witness against their neighbors, while the cause in action is not an acre or a roof,—it is nothing short of the lives and the possessions of millions on both sides.

The bare Abolitionists are very few in number ; they are not and never have been included in the Republican party ; they are a band of fanatics and madmen, possessed with one idea ; and before all the John Browns and all their supporters no true man need fear. The Abolitionists have confirmed the worst evils of the slave, and they have largely contributed to array the nation in an opposition quite unnecessary. But they have been guilty of no crime more wicked, no act more damnable, than the subtle cunning with which secession intentionally sows the sure seeds of sectional hatred, to ripen into the poison fruit of treason and national destruction.

The South, as a portion of the nation, has ever derived a most liberal share of all the benefits of the government. Magnificent buildings have been founded on her soil ; fortifications, lighthouses, harbors, have been completed ; wars carried on ; Indians subsidised and removed by tens of thousands ; treaties have been made without number with the strongest powers on earth ; post-offices and routes have been established across forests and deserts, to link together wide-scattered communities ; countless and peculiar objects have been sought and outlays made for her benefit ; her citizens have ever filled much more than a full share of all the posts of profit and trust, of dignity and honor ; Presidents and rulers have most frequently claimed her parentage ; she has more than a share of voices in the Supreme Tribunal of the land ; the Capitol sits in her lap ; and now she has demanded more. At last, imperiously, she makes her ultimatum. She demands besides all this, nothing less than the concession of the supreme control of the Legislature of the nation, to be wielded by her eight millions of white citizens. She thus asks the men of the North, nineteen millions in number, without an effort and without a throe, to yield up their liberties. This, not one shadow less than this, is the doctrine of Mr. Calhoun, that the South shall have always an equal voice in the Senate. This

is the life and soul of the Southern propaganda. For this she seeks new territories, for this alone she demands more States; not to fill them with her overflowing millions, but to plant upon them sickly numbers, to be maintained by the nation and to rule it in the Senate. For this the North refuses to inscribe the slave upon the Great Constitution. For this the nineteen millions of the North refuse to submit to the eight millions of the South, while the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution proclaim equal liberty between them and to all mankind. Let the South have and let her hold every constitutional right, and when the first Southern man has been deprived of his least right, let all America cry shame. Such wrong has not yet been done, so says Mr. Douglass. That the South has been seeking, while she denied it was so, more than the Constitution fairly vouchsafed her, has just now, at last, been proclaimed by one of the most able as well as the most honest men of his age, though unfortunately he is Vice-President of the Confederate States,—Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia.\*

“The exports of breadstuffs and provisions are also due to the

\* “The new Constitution has put at rest forever all the agitating questions relating to our peculiar institutions—African Slavery, as it exists among us—the proper status of the negro in our form of civilization. This was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution. Jefferson, in his forecast, had anticipated this as the ‘rock upon which the old Union would split.’ He was right. What was conjecture with him is now a realized fact. But whether he fully comprehended the great truth upon which that rock stood and stands may be doubted. The prevailing ideas entertained by him and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old Constitution, were, that the enslavement of the African was wrong in principle, socially, morally, and politically. It was an evil they knew not well how to deal with, but the general opinion of the men of that day was, that somehow or other, in the order of Providence, the institution would be evanescent and pass away. This idea, though not incorporated in the Constitution, was the prevailing idea at the time. The Constitution, it is true, secured every essential guarantee to the institution while it should last, and hence no argument can be justly used against the constitutional guarantees thus secured, because of the common sentiment of the day. Those ideas, however, were fundamentally wrong. They rested upon the assumption of the equality of races. This was an error. It was a sandy foundation, and the idea of a government built upon it; when the ‘storm came and the wind blew, it fell.’”—*Extract from Savannah Speech of Hon. Alexander H. Stephens, of 21st March, 1861, in Savannah Republican.*

South, since but for the quantities of these which are sent North to feed the Eastern States, little or no Western produce could be spared for Europe, even at high prices." (P. 72.) "If we analyze the export trade of the country in respect to the origin of the exports, we shall find that more than one-half the whole is exclusively of Southern origin; that of those articles that are common to all sections, one-half goes directly from the South; and that of the Northern manufactures that are exported, much of the raw material is also of Southern origin." (P. 73.) Now let us add another quotation. (P. 70.) "It is obvious that unless the produce is given away, something must be taken in payment." (P. 73.) "The sales of Northern manufactures to the South, as part of the offset to the large receipts of Southern produce, may be placed at \$150,000,000, and from the West possibly \$30,000,000, making \$180,000,000 worth of domestic merchandise purchased by the South in addition to the imported goods." (P. 65.) It now begins to dawn upon us how Northern profits honestly, for value received, and by dint of hard labor and cultivated skill, grow out of Southern wealth. Possibly we may now discover that perhaps some Southern wealth reciprocally grows up, in no slight degree, upon Northern labor too; for the vast capital and large population at the North employed to make all these useful commodities sent to the South must surely have been withdrawn from some pursuit useful to the North—agriculture, for instance—of which they needed the products so much that they purchased food from the South. If the South had made for itself the wares it derived from the North, it must have proportionately neglected its agriculture, for these wares are chiefly necessities.

Let us take our author's own words, before quoted (p. 61), where he desires to show the great share of the odious protection the South discharges, and he states (p. 61) the amount of Northern manufactures mostly *protected* which are sold to the South and West at \$200,000,000, a mere difference of \$20,000,000, not of much importance, to be sure, in the discussion of a principle of policy.

Having endeavored to discover how it can be claimed that "the exports of breadstuffs and provisions are also due to the South," let us thus approach the result through the author's



own suggestion, that "we analyze the export trade of the country in respect to the origin of the exports."

He has proved that the Northern manufacturers either sold or gave to the South and West \$200,000,000 worth of manufactured goods, mostly protected, and sent them besides their share of imported goods. These were sent, of course, to pay for the Northern share of the exports. This seems to be, figures apart, the true and correct view of the transaction. The North works honestly for the South; the South honestly endeavors to make a due return for its receipts, as well as for the Western share too. Still this does not satisfy our author, for, speaking of breadstuffs, and manufactures, and general exports, he says: "The fact was, therefore, that, with the exception of manufactures, the South furnished nearly the whole, or substitutes for the whole exportations of the country." (P. 74.)

It is by no means necessary to deny this gratifying assertion, nor should it be considered a token of Northern ingratitude to refer once more to the pertinent words quoted from page 70, which forbid the inference that "the produce is given away," and which even excuse the belief that something must be taken in payment for that which the South sends away.

A further comparison of figures may be instructive.

It is stated (p. 70), that, exclusive of freight earnings and California gold, the exports of domestic produce are, . . . . .	\$278,392,080
And we have seen the amount of Northern manufactures, mostly protected, taken by the South and West, not including imports, via the North, are, . . . . .	200,000,000
	<hr/>
Leaving by his computation only the sum of . . .	\$78,392,080

for exports not paid for by Northern manufactures which are sent to the South and West. Let us continue this account: "On the other hand, if the larger portion of the importations were made at the North, for the reason that the capital, shipping, and geographical advantages are there concentrated, the destination

of these goods has been largely in the direction of the sources of the exports of the country. The goods swelling the current of manufacture that sets south through New York and Philadelphia by means of coasting tonnage and railroad helps to cancel the large debt which the North annually contracts." (P. 74.) A short distance further, it appears that, for 1850, the distribution of imports at the North was as follows:

To the South, . . . . .	\$43,000,000
To the West, . . . . .	35,000,000
	<hr/>
	\$78,000,000

Which sum is to be taken, of course, as a part of the commodities returned by the North, and for which, as for value received, the South is debtor. There still remains upon this statement a credit in favor of the North for the amount of merchandise or manufactures which are exported, not being manufactures of the South.

Now, having already accounted for the Southern payment *for the value of the entire exports*, and also having charged them in the account with their entire admitted proportion of Northern imports, and there being still, as they will not deny, some imports at Southern custom-houses not yet alluded to, may we ask who pays for this yet neglected portion of the imports? It must be remembered the South has had credit already, against the industry of the North, for the entire amount of the exports; and there yet remains this troublesome portion of the imports not yet paid for by the statement before us. He admits some manufactures not Southern are exported.

Pages 74 and 75 give, in a new shape, and with larger figures than we have yet considered (they relate to more recent returns), the relations of foreign and domestic trade. They demonstrate triumphantly the glorious fact, of which every citizen of the nation should be proud, that an important and mutually profitable trade exists between the North and the South. It should awaken serious doubts for the benefits either side may hope for in disturbing such vast and intricate relations. Before leaving the page before us, may we question the soundness of the estimate

that 50,000 Southern whites, over 20 years of age, visit the North annually, and that every one of them should be stated as spending, in addition to the purchase of domestic goods, which are separately computed, the substantial sum of one thousand dollars during his visit? It is scarce worth while to notice the trifling addition to this estimate of \$50,000,000, already absurdly high, by which it is set down in the table at \$53,360,394, for the sake of making the account balance!

To conclude the investigation of protection in its bearing upon the producers of food, observe the impression prevailing upon the subject in other quarters. Admitting equal sincerity on the part of the masses in those Northern districts not controlled by manufactures, where agriculture and the production of food are the chief objects which absorb much the greater part of the capital, and employ most of the population, we find the desire for protection is very strong, and is a controlling influence. How can this be understood, unless we believe these men honestly think the development of manufactures must benefit the producer of food. Sir Robert Peel's great mind recognized the necessity for food as the great need of the artisan, and his most triumphant success was the procuring a supply.

It need hardly be asserted that a separate people, which does not manufacture its necessities, can never rise to be a nation in any sense of the word; it must continue utterly dependent, and even submissive, to its foreign correspondents. One of the hardships which contributed to the Revolution was the refusal of England to allow iron mills in this country. This principle must be appreciated in proportion as a people desires to possess a nationality—an inestimable blessing, which stern misfortune may yet recommend to Southrons, when they begin to lament that it has fallen from their grasp.

“Its fortune (the North's) depends upon manufacturing and shipping, but, as has been seen, it neither raises its own food, nor its own raw material, nor does it furnish freights for its own shipping. The South, on the other hand, raises a supply of food, and supplies the world with raw materials. \* \* \* \* The requisite capital to put them in action is rapidly accumulating, and in the long run it would lose, after recovering from first disasters, nothing by separation.” (P. 75.) This extract

contains four important assertions. 1st. The North produces neither its food nor raw materials. 2d. The South raises the food, and supplies the world with raw materials. 3d. Capital to supply the Southern wants is rapidly accumulating. 4th. The South would rapidly recover from the disasters of a separation, *losing nothing by the act of violence*. The first two points may be met with the facts that the North does produce a great deal of food, and that it very nearly, at present prices, competes with England itself in producing everything which commands food in the markets of the world; that the raw material, and the food produced by the South, would be of much smaller value to the South, if the North did not take them. To the third we may answer, that capital will flow where it can be profitably employed, but its employment profitably needs security, natural and local facilities, skill, knowledge, energy, and enterprise; to assemble all which together, and to harmonize them with success, has been the study of the whole world down to the present hour. The fourth assumption of a result so desirable to the South, that it would lose nothing in the long run by separation, is quite beyond the powers of man to comprehend. It is precisely the great question at issue, pregnant with the nation's fate, and therefore with the fate of every part of the nation.

The few lines last cited contain the heart and soul of the book. They show us straightway the promised land of plenty and of hope, so temptingly held to the gaze of the sunny South; they point prophetically to the annihilation of the North; they exult over its fields grown with weeds, its ships rotten, its factories and towns in ruins, their people departed; and they scatter the sands of an Egyptian desert over the land, leaving perhaps here and there some tall chimney raising its once belching throat above the desolate waste.

Thus we have waded through the self-delusions of this strange collection of statistics and misapplied reasoning. The book is full of facts, but seems incapable of developing a single important truth from the whole of them. But let us continue the task.

It may be worth while in passing (p. 85), to notice the average wages of labor employed in ship-building, as \$500 per man a year. Compare this with the surprising claim laid to the suc-

cess of labor in sugar-planting at \$300 each per year, and the admission coupled with it, that the steam-engine and machinery contribute largely to the production of sugar. But the average annual value of white labor, aided by improved machinery at the North, has been estimated at more than \$1000 a man. Such is the stupendous power the steam-engine and the wonderful devices of mechanics contribute to his efforts.

The discussion of the cost and usefulness of railways in the three sections (p. 86), deserves a different conclusion,—one less unfavorable to the North. The value of land damages has always been a serious element in the cost of Northern railroads. The much greater value of labor and materials in the North, not less than the different nature of the country traversed by the roads, demanded greater outlay. The planters often supplied the cheap labor of their slaves, when unemployed, taking stock in return. But their roads cannot compare in the solidity of structure and capacity for business, though these Northern roads were rapidly built, stimulated by speculation and by the costly system of bonds, often sold at great depreciation. But the great return made by Northern and Western roads, which far overpays all the loss upon the stock, is found in the increased value of the lands, the numberless towns, and the countless farms which rise like magic along their vast extent. Where in the South do these results occur? What is the difference in the speed, regularity, and convenience, exhibited in the management which mark the advantages? But let us yield all due praise to the South for superior economy in building, and a success quite satisfactory and surprising in the finance of their railroads. They certainly are more successful than most others in America. The best Southern railroads were often made by Northern engineers; not a few persons even think some Southern railways are not exclusively owned or built by Southern enterprise and capital; but it is not necessary to dispute these points.

“The produce itself, after supplying the local wants, leaves a surplus which seeks a distant market, and becomes the medium by which alone all the goods imported into the section or country can be paid for” (p. 89). A protest must be repeated here against this doctrine of surplus. This is true, only so far as to

its being the medium by which goods are paid for. But as this is solely an agricultural people, and of most frugal habits, a large proportion of the goods brought to it are essential elements in their productions, and form, indeed, quite as much as the price of land and of slaves, a part of the cost of production. It is only articles of luxury and of superfluity, and useful articles purchased and kept on hand for subsequent years, or whatever represents such articles, that can be called surplus. *Vide* "The Five Cotton States and New York."

Page 90 explains the financial system of moving the crops, and the principle upon which the produce bills tend to New York, because it is the largest importing mart, and under the present system the demand for bills is there, because it is the centre of the import trade. This can only lead to the inference that the largest market is likely to be the most certain, and to afford the best prices as well as the least risks, and thus it is the best market.

Page 92 attempts to show that a Virginia bank lending money to a tobacco merchant, in discounting his draft upon a factor in New York, actually loans Virginian capital to the factor in New York, who raises the wind by a sale of the purchaser's notes, the proceeds of which he employs till the Virginia draft is due. But the value of the Virginia draft was loaned, less the discount, to the manufacturer at home. It is the New York shaver whose capital is loaned to the factor, upon security of his honor and credit, and upon New York, and not at Virginian risk; for if the money is lost, the maker of the note must pay it. The money used in New York arose upon the credit and capital of the factor there. And in the subsequent case of the cotton planter, who gets a produce draft discounted by the Southern bank, which takes it, he ought of right to bear the loud complaints, which can be justly uttered alone by his own Southern bank, if he fails to place the cotton forward in time to protect the draft. (P. 92, 93). "It is easy to see how this mode of banking affects the price of cotton, and depresses it beyond its true value."

This system of banking is simply the one imposed by local usage and custom itself, and may have grown chiefly out of experience, which proved it was practically safer to discount a draft against cotton gone forward, than to lend money to a planter

upon his own responsibility and the security of his land and slaves. The further question of the saleableness of the sterling bills in New York, which measures the Southern banks' ability to purchase, is a mere question of demand and supply, such as must always arise in every mart, whether domestic or foreign. But is it not rather to the advantage of the Southern producer, to have this great entrepot *close at hand* in New York, rather than be compelled to rely upon the small capital of the place of production, and conscious that even the movements of the local capital must be more slow, and its caution greater, in proportion as the mart is removed, as from New York to Europe itself? Without the intervention of the great capital and demand at New York, the producer would be entirely at the mercy of the buyer in whatever port abroad his cotton might land, and he would in no case find a greater economy than at present.

"The operation of capital is not different in America from what it is elsewhere, and it is against this operation that the South is to contend." (P. 94.) Will the South become more free, when every district brings itself to depend upon the amount of European capital tending to its assistance (or quære, to control it), at its local seaport, than it is with the present system of competition in the great emporium, New York, so close at its door? The struggle of the South is especially hard, *because it is exerting itself beyond the capacity of its own legitimate capital.*

"It is now obvious, that if the South is disposed to carry out its determination of reviving the old colonial non-intercourse, as a means of redress, that an immense financial balance would be thrown against the North." (P. 96.) That is, if the North had made its purchases abroad, predicated upon Southern purchases from New York, it would be so. But if the South suddenly refused to trade through New York as heretofore, and thus refused to enable Europe to take cotton by means of a shipment of commodities to New York in return trade, *then Europe could no longer take the Southern cotton as it had done* previously, because New York could not take goods in return, and thus Europe would be seized with panic at the fear of being deprived of so much specie upon an emergency. This would seriously depress the cotton market. The weakness of the theory lies somewhat in the neglect of the fact that the South does not

take largely of the actual imports, which are returned to the North for cotton exported; but the South takes Northern manufactures, often made expressly, and peculiarly adapted to it, which are paid for in the circle of trade with the cotton bills. It is notorious that the countries of Europe could not, without serious and very injurious derangements in existing productions, immediately manufacture and send to the South the especial commodities fit for its market, usually manufactured at the North, and of which the South stands in direct need. Thus it is not so obvious that the prank of "non-intercourse" will immediately redound to the benefit or the convenience of those who it is yet to be hoped may not be rash enough to try the experiment though they may propose it. The current of specie which went South in 1858, "broad and deep," would not in general be so desirable. More specie than the average requirements of the South demand, would be for them a bad investment. They do not want it in return for their crops, because they must immediately dispatch it again to purchase wares, their deficient capital forbidding them to hold much specie idle. This power of non-intercourse exerted over Northern finances, will not result otherwise than by making the South lose the interest, the insurance, and the cost of transportation upon all the specie they acquire in this way above their necessities, and the loss will recur as often, and continue as long as they demand specie for exports. (P. 97.) "The rate (of foreign exchange) is always at a premium in New York, and that frequently when New York is in debt; the real rate of exchange being disguised in depreciation of local currency." This assertion is more startling than true, for local currency in New York has never been depreciated since 1845—it has always been bankable—and bank credits have always been equal to gold. Exchange is always paid for in bank credits at New York. Sometimes Southern bank notes are depreciated in New York.

We have the summing up. "It is not a matter of surprise, under all these circumstances, that notwithstanding the large production of wealth at the South, capital accumulates there so slowly." (P. 98.) Besides all that has gone before in answer to this, the *crying sin complained of*, it is only necessary to remark that it is not unusual that crude, unskilled, unedu-



cated labor, like that of a community of slavery, should not reap the whole profit which arises from dealing with, distributing, and disposing of a vast amount of three or four gross productions of agriculture, such as cotton, rice, sugar, and tobacco. Almost the same result occurs in distributing the corn crop of Europe. But at last we have in this admission a refutation of the whole theory of the book, as proclaimed in his theme, "Southern Wealth." The South is enormously rich, but not rich enough to carry on its still more enormous enterprises with its own capital and labor alone. What has been here written may help to show the author of this specious and very plausible book, how and why capital accumulates so slowly at the South; perhaps he and a thousand other cultivated, refined, and elegant Disunionists may discover to their cost that the only reason is, that *the South after all does not work hard enough for it, and does not earn it*, although they do think all New York belongs to them. This phantom of the Southern brain is the secret of half their exasperation and displeasure. They do not perceive, that in order to furnish them the means of devoting their undivided efforts to agriculture, thousands of skilled hands and thousands of steam engines all over the North are constantly at work for them. This work if not done by the North for them, must be done by some other nation, and at rates sufficiently profitable, and it is very questionable whether any other nation can either do it as cheaply or so satisfactorily for the South, as it is accomplished at the North, where the manufactories are almost under the eye of those giving the orders, where personal acquaintance facilitates the system of credits, and where the interchange of thought, as well as of raw materials, can be conducted with little restriction and without delay. Between the North and the South, in this respect, there is, and there ought to be, the closest community of interest, as well as of feeling, which there possibly could exist between manufacturer and consumer; their interests are as nearly identical as it is possible for them to be, and the most perfect system of complaint and redress has always existed. Either can bring the other into a common court, and demand impartial and most speedy justice. Can any one believe that in the midst of its culminating prosperity, the South can suddenly disturb every existing relation of its complicated trade,

and still continue to wrest from the grasp of astonished nations that rich reward which now flows into its lap, the wonderful result of its skill and industry, developed under the existing system to a marvellous degree during the last five years? Although apparently so simple, this trade is really more complicated than our author has been able to perceive, and it needs but a few months more to convince him and his mistaken followers, of the irreparable injury their madness has brought upon them. They have extended their enterprises beyond the measure of their capital already, and they are suffering in consequence. The problem they have to solve for the future is twofold: the complications growing out of direct European influence planted upon their very soil, is one feature, for they must invoke the presence of its capital, which will be intrusted only to European agents upon their soil, else all their boasted agriculture is paralyzed; the other question before them is the relation of this new system to the slave, complicated as it is sure to become with European influence and interference, and disturbed and confused as it must be, under the radical change they have suddenly inaugurated. If the present state be an evil, the new condition may be thralldom itself.

With the seventh chapter ends the principal commercial and agricultural features of the book. It is scarcely necessary, at the risk of greater length, to follow this work much further; its vital points are laid bare. The chapter on population offers, among many others, the idea, that the emigrant avoids the South, not so much because of slavery, as from the probable tendency to follow the parallels of latitude between which he has lived. Perhaps one extract may further illustrate the feeling which pervades the whole. Speaking of the fact that most servants at the North are foreign, he adds, "But for this source, domestic servants would scarcely be had at all, since very few of those born here will take service; they eke out a scanty living in the various employments which are dependent upon Southern purchasers to pay at all!"

The ninth chapter is devoted to the black race, and perhaps needs no remark here, though various readers will follow it with interest, and with profound but differing feelings.

The tenth chapter, on accumulation, requires the application

of the same principles already directed to the agricultural arguments. It will readily explain why "the Northeast retains the accumulation;" and it may indicate after all, that as the North and West consume the chief part of the foreign importations, which are the returns for the cotton crop, and other Southern exports, the North and West, *as consumers*, do really bear the chief share, direct and indirect, of the imposts or protection levied for the sake of domestic industry, which the author persists in treating as exclusively Northern. These sections too consume a far larger share than he conceives of domestic manufacture. In this connection it may be well to advert to his clear exhibits of the prospering growth of manufactures in many of the Southern States. Many even of the staples of those Southern States are not less surely and safely protected than the manufactures of the North. Rice, sugar, hemp, coal, tobacco, corn, flour, and iron, are surely protected. Maryland, Virginia, Delaware, Georgia, Tennessee, both Carolinas, Louisiana, Kentucky, and Missouri, all possess manufactures, and although they do not equal those of the Northeast, it is scarcely fair to insist so loudly and so often, that all the protection is only in favor of the North, and an unfair and tyrannous imposition upon the rights and liberties of the South. Although not in favor of protection, for mere protection, as a permanent institution, one may maintain an argument whether a nation, while seeking revenue, may not wisely extend such shelter to the laudable and growing enterprise of its people, as may relieve it from the determined attack, or from the accidental vicissitudes of the overgrown capital of foreign countries. The mere fluctuations in the course of foreign manufactures, where capital is less dear, would inevitably destroy every effort of American industry, which can seldom obtain its capital for six per cent; while abroad it may average only half that rate. To open our ports absolutely, would not only expose us to direct taxation, an untried and still a measure of doubtful practicability, but must, in the absence of general European free trade, develop the most sudden and inevitable fluctuations in the value of every article in every port. Suppose a merchant of Europe found his own market glutted, and that he had a cargo unsaleable abroad, and should dispatch it as a desperate venture to Charleston, whose warehouses

contained already a full supply of the same materials which had been purchased at full prices; the forced sale of this cargo, entered without the necessity of paying any duty, might ruin every man who had purchased his supply beforehand, and the aggregate loss entailed might largely exceed the whole value of the cargo. This might benefit the buyers for the occasion, but it could not fail to damage the trade and the country to a very unequal extent. This example is taken, because this absolute free trade with richer countries all over the world, however unequal in wealth, is the favorite burden of every Southern argument. But now let us look at what the South—the extremest of the South—has done in all sincerity upon this very subject. It has claimed separate nationality, and it has proclaimed, not free trade, but a system of virtual, though covert, protection, modelled upon our own, and it has adopted, at least for the present, and must doubtless maintain for all time to come, no less than the actual tariff so denounced and opposed in this exposition of Northern *wrong-doing* now before us. What shall we say of their Chinese duty upon exports?

“The South has supplied the capital which has accumulated at the North, and which has endowed the West with such factitious prosperity.” (P. 136.) This is the theme and the burden of much of the chapter. It is the skeleton in the closet of the Southron’s brain, which stalks before his vision and which rattles its dry bones in his ear, whenever he sees a bill of exchange or hears a dollar jingle. We have labored through so many pages, written about more than thirty millions of people, forming, most undoubtedly, one of the mightiest nations upon earth, yet we are persecuted with the proposition that all their wealth, all their industry, all their power, emanates and has been wrongfully forced from a department containing twelve millions in all, but in which *four millions of negro slaves alone, have accomplished the gain and wealth*. What a flagrant wrong, what a fierce insult does not this assertion fix upon the eight millions of Southern white men, who live beside these precious slaves! Shall we be told that the eight millions of Southern white men are better educated, more skilful, and more successful in their labors, than not only an equal number, but more than twice their number of the nineteen millions of Northern white men? What means all this

folly? Will the world believe such a false conclusion, no matter how it be reached, or for what purpose? And to support this false and hollow result are ignored all the combined power of Northern numbers, Northern capital, Northern skill, and Northern machinery—the steam-engines of the North alone, contributing a very host, sublime in the power of numbers, to the productive industry of the nation, which is the true source of wealth wherever it be found, be it North or be it South! Come weal, come woe, nineteen millions of industrious, intelligent white men, neither wanting in mind, skill, or capital, and planted upon a productive soil, possess in themselves a moral as well as a physical power capable of supplying all their own legitimate wants; and the sequel must surely prove they have some ability to accomplish not less than other nations of the earth, in deriving the results of industry and the rewards of commerce from their intercourse with the world. Eight millions of kindred white men, whom we are asked to believe are living upon part of the labor of four millions of negro slaves, may gather also to themselves wealth and power; but nothing we have passed over in these pages, and nothing they contain beyond this point, where time stops the analysis, can force the credulous world to believe the South have been, are now, or shall be hereafter, more rich, more successful or stronger than the calm, vigorous, thinking, sturdy, and laborious North. Elements set in motion by the wilful act of the South are now irrevocably, surely, and silently at work to, undermine their boasted power. A frost or a grovelling worm ere now has touched their royal plant. A crayfish may once more pierce the bank of the levee, and the mighty Mississippi will sweep their cane-fields. England may soon gather the rich harvest now so coveted, from her own colonial lands over which the sun never sets. The hated North, in self-defence may, perchance, be forced to swathe its limbs in wool or flax, like the hordes of Russia. Where then will be the boasted empire for which all is consecrated now to destruction, our great Constitution sullied, and the nation overthrown?

Flax is a Northern plant. Already its blue petals adorn the rich fields of the teeming West, and dark heaps of its strong fibre lie rotting yearly upon many thousand acres of the North, its seeds alone supplying the demands of commerce.

The thrift and care of a Northern man looked thoughtfully upon the waste, and now in the dark hour of need Providence has supplied him with a simple device, by which this wasted flax-fibre is changed to a cotton-like floss, as fine, as soft, as fair, and as tractable, yet more silk-like than the staple of the South. The cotton machinery, without change or variation, converts it into cloth. The cost of the flax-cotton is less than the price of the true cotton side by side in the Northern mill. The quantity of flax staple annually now left to waste and rot upon the Northern fields, will make, this year alone, nearly a million of bales of this aid, heaven sent, in our dire necessity. The North needs no more.

No impulse to aggravate feelings already far too angry, no wish to give pain has dictated these reflections; they have risen up unbidden from the work itself. From his inmost soul the writer deplures the embittered feelings of the times; he thinks they grow out of erroneous notions of figures, mistaken comprehensions of political economy, as well as much misconception and infinite misrepresentation of the feelings and purposes of the masses. The nature and the tone of the charges have claimed an humble effort at reply, and whatever may be contained in these lines, they are intended to beget no unkindness or to widen any breach. Let us all cherish the one sentiment most worthy of every manly heart: No North, no South; our country, our whole country,—the United States.